

at the Threshold of the Twenty First Century, adopted on September 2, 1998 in Moscow, stress their common desire to reverse that process using to this end the existing and possible new international legal mechanisms.

In this regard, both Parties affirm their existing obligations under Article XIII of the ABM Treaty to consider possible changes in the strategic situation that have a bearing on the ABM Treaty and, as appropriate, possible proposals for further increasing the viability of this Treaty.

The Parties emphasize that the package of agreements signed on September 26, 1997 in New York is important under present conditions for the effectiveness of the ABM Treaty, and they will facilitate the earliest possible ratification and entry into force of those agreements.

The implementation of measures to exchange data on missile launches and on early warning and to set up an appropriate joint center, recorded in the Joint Statement by the Presidents of the United States of America and the Russian Federation signed on September 2, 1998 in Moscow, will also promote the strengthening of strategic stability.

Discussions on START III and the ABM Treaty will begin later this summer. The two governments express their confidence that implementation of this Joint Statement will be a new significant step to enhance strategic stability and the security of both nations.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

Remarks to the American Community in Bonn, Germany *June 20, 1999*

Lord Mayor Dieckmann, thank you very much for your words and for your wonderful gift of Beethoven's music; Mr. Ambassador, ladies and gentlemen.

Let me begin by saying a word of thanks to our Embassy staff and to those of you here in Bonn who have been our hosts for so many years. We are very proud of our long presence here, but we know, as the Lord Mayor said, that our departure is made possible by something we have dreamed of for a very

long time, the Germany envisioned when the American High Commission came to Bonn in 1951. Also, thanks in large measure to Germany's leadership and example, we see the Europe envisioned in the days of Truman and Adenauer, a Europe free, undivided, and at peace at last within our grasp.

The man for whom this chapel was named, Henry Stimson, shared those dreams of Germany and Europe. I understand one of his relatives, Arthur Stimson, is here today, and we are honored by that. I also want to wish the chapel's pastor, Dr. Hubbard, well as he returns to America tomorrow after his service here. We thank you, sir, and we wish your successor, Reverend Satre—and Father McNally, thank you for being here.

Hillary and I and Secretary Eizenstat, who's about to become the Deputy Secretary of the Treasury—he's moving, too—all of our Americans here are profoundly grateful to those of you who have served in Bonn and have done a remarkable job of forging the truly incredible relationship we have with Germany. It is a security alliance, an economic partnership, and a cultural bond. The gift of this chapel is meant to symbolize that whole relationship and to make it stronger. I thank all of you who have made it possible.

As I think about where we are today, compared to where we were 50 years ago and the work we did today for the Europe our children and grandchildren will live in 50 years from now, I think it is altogether fitting that we are here in Bonn, the home of Beethoven, for his life makes possible for us to see one of the most important admonitions of the Scriptures. The Bible says, "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

Beethoven, I believe, was the greatest composer in the history of the world. He was also stone deaf. He wrote his music because of his vision, because of the melding together of his mind, his heart, his memory, his imagination. Human beings are at their best, not only individually but working together, when they are guided by their visions and they are good.

The summit we have just completed was the last leaders' meeting of the 20th century. It followed our victory in Kosovo for values and for the vision we have of the 21st century.

I want to talk very briefly—and I thank the rain for letting up. [Laughter] God approved my interpretation of the Scriptures, you see? [Applause] Thank you. I want to say just a few words about the vision we have for southeastern Europe, for our relations with Russia, for the challenges of the new global economy.

Consider first the lessons we would be leaving this century for the next if we had come to Cologne without having taken a stand in Kosovo. Then we would be saying that innocent men, women, and children could be singled out for destruction because of their ethnic heritage or religious faith, even in the heart of Europe; that innocent people could be driven from their homes, loaded on train cars, raped and killed, their religious faith and their culture erased, and the world would not hear, see, speak, or act to stop it; that the world's most powerful alliance is simply powerless to stop crimes against humanity, even those on its own doorstep.

Years from now, people would say that we lived through a time of amazing progress in human freedom and economic prosperity. But the children of the 21st century would have to look back and say that we failed a decisive moral test, that our inaction imperiled our own security, that we had not learned the lessons of the bloody 20th century.

Now, think about how the century is actually ending—with a powerful statement by our 19 democracies that we will stand up for the innocents in the face of evil, with our Alliance strong, united, working with partners all across the continent to meet common objectives; with ethnic cleansing not only defeated but, as the Kosovars go home, reversed; with the remarkable sight of German troops, marching with their democratic Allies, through the towns and villages of a Balkan country, cheered as liberators by people grateful to be going home in peace and safety.

We may never have a world that is without hatred or tyranny or conflict, but at least instead of ending this century with helpless indignation in the face of it, we instead begin a new century and a new millennium with a hopeful affirmation of human rights and

human dignity. The people of Kosovo have a future again. And there is no future in Europe for Mr. Milosevic and his policy of manipulating normal human differences for inhuman ends.

Now, we find ourselves at that pivotal moment between winning a conflict and winning the peace. Today the last Serb forces are leaving Kosovo, in accordance with the deadline that has been set. Over 60,000 Kosovars have already gone home. I believe, shortly, we will formalize our agreement with the KLA to demilitarize their forces. Of course, there are still dangers ahead. But we also have a remarkable opportunity, and what we do now will determine the character of this continent, the shape of our Alliance, and the nature of our partnership with Russia for years and years to come.

Our biggest challenge perhaps will be to put in place a plan for lasting peace and stability in the Balkans. We cannot do this a province, a nation, a crisis at a time. All our G-8 partners have agreed it is time to help transform the entirety of southeastern Europe the way Western Europe was transformed after World War II and central Europe was after the cold war. We want to give the region's democracies a path to a prosperous and shared future, a unifying magnet that is more powerful than the pull of old hatreds and destruction which has threatened to tear them apart.

Some say this is a dream. Some still believe the people of the Balkans are somehow predestined to a never-ending struggle over land, faith, and power. But after all, that is what, in times past, people used to say about England and France, or France and Germany, or Germany and Poland, or Poland and Russia. If we had listened to all the people throughout human history who said that we couldn't get along, none of us would be here today.

Look around this crowd at the different faces, the different races, the different religious faiths. None of us would be here today if we had believed that any of those past conflicts was more powerful and more predestined than the innate goodness and potential and dignity of all human beings, without regard to their origin.

Henry Stimson once said, "The most deadly sin I know is cynicism." Today, we ought not to have much of that, for we have a lot to hope for. Most of central and eastern Europe is transforming itself through democracy and cooperation with neighbors. If the countries of southeastern Europe keep taking the same path, we have pledged to do our part to work with the World Bank, the IMF, and others to support the economic development and the private investment necessary to grow the economy and the futures of the people of southeastern Europe. We ought to integrate them into the global economy and into our regional arrangements.

All of this, of course, will cost money, but how well spent that money will be. The costliest peace is cheaper than the cheapest war.

This summit was also the first meeting between the leaders of Russia and the West since our disagreement over the conflict in Kosovo. Of course, Russia opposed our use of force there, but it did work with us to achieve the peace, to fulfill our objectives. Now we have committed to implementing this peace together in a way that will strengthen our relationship, reassure the security of innocent civilians—both ethnic Serb and Albanian—in Kosovo, and preserve the unity of NATO.

The summit gave us a chance to work on what we have in common. President Yeltsin and I, for example, agreed to hold discussions later this year on START III, further reductions of our nuclear arsenals, and preserving the ABM Treaty, even as we work to get START II ratified.

Our G-8 partners agreed to increase support for our enhanced threat reduction initiative. That is what safeguards nuclear materials, technology, and expertise in Russia so that horrible weapons of mass destruction don't fall into the wrong hands. We also recognize that Russia's future depends upon the health of its economy. President Yeltsin affirmed today that Russia can thrive in the global marketplace only with a strong reform program. And the rest of us made it clear that we will move quickly once Russia's IMF program is in place to support a rescheduling of its debt.

Our final challenge in Cologne was to join forces to maximize the benefits and minimize

the risks of the global economy to ordinary people the world over, whether in wealthy or poor countries. The rise of an open economy in the world represents one of the most hopeful developments in history. But to build public support for it, we must make sure that the benefits are widely shared, that when people are disrupted, as they inevitably will be, they are helped to get back to a good life, and that no one is left behind.

At this summit we took critical steps to make the economy of the world more resilient, to moderate the cycles of boom and bust that have gripped Southeast Asia and the rest of Asia in the last couple of years, and to do more to protect the most vulnerable among us. We resolved to work with the International Labor Organization to eradicate abusive child labor and enforce good labor standards around the globe.

We pledged to launch a new global trade round at the WTO meeting in Seattle later this year to spread the benefits of trade more broadly. And we launched an historic effort to move the world's poorest nations onto a path of growth and independence, something I have been working on for most of my tenure as President. Our plan will more than triple the amount of money available for debt reduction, reducing up to 70 percent of the outstanding debt of the poorest nations of the world.

We also committed to increase the number of countries eligible for this aid and to deliver the relief faster, in ways that will free up the resources of the poor countries so they can spend that money on health care and education, on the fight against AIDS, on the alleviation of poverty, on future prosperity. It will help to ensure that no country committed to that kind of progress is too indebted to achieve it and to meet the basic needs of its people. It will help to reduce poverty and expand opportunity. It will help to turn debtor countries into good citizens of the world and good partners for Germany and the United States.

So I say to you, we left this summit grateful for our long partnership with our European allies and especially with Germany. We look forward to the movement of our Embassy to Berlin, because it is the fulfillment of the visions of those who came before us. We will

always be grateful for what the people of Bonn have given us in partnership and support.

But as you think about the future—when ever you are tempted to believe that we cannot eradicate ethnic hatred from the Balkans; whenever you are tempted to believe that some people are destined to be chained in poverty and oppression; whenever you are tempted to believe that the world's problems, like the spread of AIDS, cannot be turned back—think about your native son. If anyone at any point in human history had ever said the greatest composer who ever lived would be stone deaf, they would have laughed and laughed and laughed. There is nothing we cannot do without the right vision.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:35 p.m. at the Stimson Memorial Chapel. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Bärbel Dieckmann of Bonn, Germany; U.S. Ambassador to Germany, John C. Kornblum; Rev. Donald R. Hubbard, outgoing Protestant chaplain, Rev. Douglas M. Satre, incoming Protestant chaplain, and Father Stephen McNally, Catholic chaplain, Stimson Memorial Chapel; President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro); and President Boris Yeltsin of Russia.

Remarks Following Discussions With European Union Leaders and an Exchange With Reporters in Bonn June 21, 1999

Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder. [*Inaudible*—I have introduced the President and Madam Secretary to Mr. Adenauer's study, and both of them thought that it was possibly lighter and brighter and possibly even nicer than what we've got over there. But as you might imagine, that wasn't the focus of our consultations.

I'm rather pleased, indeed, that for the second time by now, I have the opportunity of welcoming President Clinton here in the Chancellory on behalf of the European Union. And I am very pleased also to note that Mr. Santer has come here again—the last time wearing the hat he's presently wearing. And I think soon he's going to join the European Parliament, and he's going to try to narrow it down to certain specific things

that he would like to see happening. He's going to do that with the same sense of humor as he's done it so far.

We have adopted some important documents regarding the transatlantic relationship. The Bonn Declaration that you have already got, or that will be handed out to you very soon, is very much going to deal with the spirit of the transatlantic partnership. And in the spirit of this, we also want to see to the individual trading problems that do exist but that we think can be overcome.

Of course, as you might imagine, the situation in Kosovo and in the Balkans played an important role during our discussions. I am very much of the opinion that what we have triggered, being the Presidents of the European Council in Europe, was to trigger the Stability Pact for the Balkans, and the contours of that agreement have been drafted by the meeting of the Foreign Ministers very recently—but that will have to be promoted further with strong dynamism. And President Clinton and the European Union very much agree that this is worth promoting and developing further.

So we think that—still in July and in close cooperation with the Finnish Presidency—we call for a meeting of the heads of state and governments—all governments involved in the Stability Pact. And that meeting is meant to happen in Sarajevo.

Ladies and gentlemen, in having it there, we want to set a clear signal that the region can very much rely on the fact that we are not just talking about providing assistance but that we really want to help, and will help.

During the discussions, we also said we want to show rigidity and decidedness on the military side but diplomatic skill on the political level. And arms have now gone silent since yesterday; it is definite. And after we've won the dispute, we will now win peace for us, and we will only succeed in doing so if we go in and economically develop that region and we get in closer to Europe—in individual steps, in phases, but expeditiously, rather. I think that is certainly an interesting part of joint cooperation between the European Union and the U.S.A.

Dear Mr. President, I've very pleased to have you here yet again, and actually even more pleased about this wonderful spirit, sir,

of cooperation and friendship that has reigned over our talks here, and joint conviction. Thank you.

President Clinton. Thank you very much. Chancellor and President Santer. Let me just make a few brief comments on the issues that Chancellor Schroeder has mentioned.

First, on Kosovo. Yesterday the Serb security forces completed their withdrawal. Russia is now participating. The KLA is demilitarizing. I spoke late last evening to Mr. Thaci after the agreement had been signed. KFOR is moving in, and the refugees are on their way home.

I congratulate Chancellor Schroeder on initiating this Stability Pact as a device for the long-term redevelopment of Kosovo and all of southeastern Europe. We will be full partners.

We are interested in bringing this reconstruction to life. Our experts are now assessing the needs. We will have a donors' conference in July to finance the immediate reconstruction projects and one later in the fall to deal with long-term development of the region.

We have also agreed, as the Chancellor said, to get the leaders together in Sarajevo—both the benefactors and the beneficiaries of the Stability Pact—to plan for the future of southeastern Europe, and after the pattern followed in the Marshall plan of World War II, to get the people of the region to work together to define their own future. We think this is very important.

I'd also like to thank the business leaders involved from Europe and the United States in our business dialog for their willingness to mobilize the private sector to help in the reconstruction of Kosovo.

Let me say just a word about one other subject that I think is worth some discussion because of the interest to the public opinion in Europe and increasingly in the United States. We discussed the need to have unresolved trade disputes not define our relationship at a time when we're working together so well on so many fronts. With a relationship that covers such a large spectrum of economic activity, it is inevitable that there will be occasional friction—some small, some large. We must not let them cloud the fundamental soundness of our relationship.

We've made a lot of progress in recent months on some irritants, but a lot of work remains. Let me just give you one example. I know there's deep concern in Europe on the question of food safety. It's also an important priority for me; I've done a lot of work on food safety as President in the United States. And it's important for our farmers because they have an enormous interest in providing safe and wholesome food to the world. We need to develop open and scientific regulatory processes in each country that actually command the full confidence of ordinary citizens.

This is an issue of enormous consequence on both sides of the Atlantic. We must approach it constructively. We're already making progress under our Transatlantic Economic Partnership, establishing a pilot project for scientific review of new biotech projects. And I am pleased that the G-8, under Chancellor Schroeder's leadership, asked the OECD to undertake an analysis of international food safety.

So I want you to know that I am committed to this. All of us should have one standard only: What is the right thing? What is the right thing? That's the only thing that should matter. What is the truth? What does the science tell us? And that will be my commitment.

Finally, I think it is important that all of us honor the decisions of international tribunals when they are rendered on these trade matters.

Let me say in closing, Chancellor, I'd like to bid farewell to President Santer as he leaves his present position and goes to work in the European Parliament. I thank him for the work that he has done. This has been a remarkable period of European integration with the European Monetary Union and common security and other policies. We welcome Romano Prodi as his successor.

I also thank Sir Leon Brittan for his work and wish him well. And I would like to acknowledge and greet the newly-confirmed American Ambassador to the European Union, Dick Morningstar, who was recently very quickly confirmed by the United States Senate.

So we are preserving this relationship as we change some of the personnel involved.

It is a long-term commitment by both the Europeans and the Americans, and I'm looking forward to it. I think what we are about to do in Kosovo, in the Balkans, and what we have done there, is something that our people will be proud of for many decades to come.

Thank you.

President Jacques Santer. Mr. President, Mr. Chancellor, this summit takes place at a crucial moment in Europe's development and in the development of the United States-European Union relations. I'll make only four points about our discussions this morning.

First, we have discussed Kosovo and the wider southeastern European region. The European Union nations shared equally with the U.S. in NATO action in the Kosovo crisis, and the EU has taken the lead in putting together the Stability Pact for the region, and the EU will play a leading role in financing the reconstruction. The European Commission will work with the World Bank to coordinate the donor effort for the region. And the Commission will be overseeing the negotiation of the proposed EU association and stability agreements with the countries in that region. This all shows that the EU is capable of sharing these burdens equally with the United States and that it is a full and equal partner with the United States in pursuing our common goals.

We have discussed how the EU and U.S. interests can now jointly use their cooperation under the new transatlantic agenda to ensure that our partnership is at the heart of the rebuilding of a stable, democratic, and prosperous Balkan region.

Second, we have agreed the Bonn Declaration, which builds on the new transatlantic agenda, can strengthen it in a number of areas and affirms our joint commitment to a full and equal partnership. We are committed in particular to work together to prevent and deal with regional crises, and Europe's emerging common security and defense policy makes this much easier.

But too often in the past, President Clinton and I have had to spend time on damaging disputes, like Helms-Burton, bananas, and hormone-treated beef, even if 98 percent of our trade relations are trouble-free. By set-

ting up an effective early warning system, we are seeking to resolve such problems before they become politically damaging.

And we have agreed that it would be a good thing to have our scientists work together on health and consumer safety issues. The details still need to be worked out in order to prevent—[inaudible].

To summarize, the transatlantic relationship, 4½ years after the signing of the new transatlantic agenda, is in fine shape. Kosovo has demonstrated, as clearly as anyone could wish, how important the relationship is, and it has put our occasional trade disputes into perspective. And we look forward as we go into the new millennium to continuing to deepen that relationship for the good of the whole transatlantic community.

Humanitarian Aid to Serbia

Q. Chancellor Schroeder and President Clinton, I wonder if you could be precise on the definition of humanitarian aid to Yugoslavia, to Serbia proper. The G-8 was unable to reach an agreement on this point, but would you consider providing as part of your humanitarian assistance to the Serbs, rebuilding their electrical power plants and rebuilding their bridges to enable people to go to work as part of humanitarian assistance to the Serbs?

Chancellor Schroeder. Well, I think—I'm not as certain as what you're doing with your question—you have to differentiate between humanitarian assistance on one hand, side, and reconstruction on the other. You cannot let people starve just because they follow the wrong President, or they have the wrong President. If they are in need of medical assistance to survive, we have to grant this medical assistance to them, even if they feel they want to support Mr. Milosevic as their President. And that applies for as long as they have him as a President. So humanitarian assistance, yes, but making a tangible contribution to reconstruction, that can only ever happen with a democratic Yugoslavia.

That is very much my conviction. And you cannot look at it in abstract terms, what is humanitarian, and what is kind of more than humanitarian. So we have to know what is

needed here to be able to take a proper decision. That is the line that I consider the right one.

President Clinton. First, I agree with everything he just said. But to take your specifics—I saw the interview that President Chirac did with you, and what he said about the electrical power I thought was pretty good, that it would depend. That is, for me, it is important that if the Serbs want to keep Mr. Milosevic and don't want to be part of southeastern Europe's future, that at least they not freeze to death this winter and that their hospitals not be forced to close. So they need some power.

In terms of rebuilding the bridges so people can go to work, I don't buy that. That's part of their economic reconstruction, and I don't think we should help—not a bit, not a penny. So that's—but on the other hand, I think their hospitals ought to be able to function. I think—babies will be born; people will get sick; I think though—that people shouldn't be cold in the winter if we can help that. That's basically where I draw the line.

But we will—the reason the G-8—we didn't have a disagreement about it. We recognized that—the Chancellor read us through this—we recognized that we would have to have people in place in whom we had confidence, who could make most of these decisions on a day-to-day basis, and if they had a question, they could then kick it back to us. But I'll give you—I'm just giving you my kind of feeling about it.

Lori [Lori Santos, United Press International].

Reconstruction of the Balkans

Q. In your discussions over the past few days, did you win specific commitments—in your talks over the past few days, did you win specific commitments from the European leaders for the billions that you'll need for the reconstruction effort? And are you confident that they will carry the lion's share, as you said you wanted?

President Clinton. I think that their commitments and mine are in good faith. Let me restate what I said in my opening remarks. There will be—let me back up. I expect, in the next several days, all of you will hear various things about how much the im-

mediate reconstruction of Kosovo will cost, what we're looking at in terms of long-term development. Then you'll see both Europeans and Americans say we will or won't pay this or that amount of money.

I think that that—almost all of that is going to be rather fruitless in the end. What we have to do is have our people go in there and figure out, ballpark, what it's going to cost to get Kosovo up and going and whole again. And then we have to convene the leaders' meeting as well as have people look at what it would take to have a long-term development strategy for southeastern Europe. And obviously, that will be greater flexibility there; in other words, the more money you have, the more you can do; but there will be some flexibility there. And then we will—I will try to allocate our responsibilities.

But I am absolutely convinced—you heard what President Santer said—I think that all of us are committed to doing this. And let me just say to the American people and to—who would be listening to this and to our friends in Europe, it will probably cost more than most people think, but I promise you, it will be a lot cheaper than a continuation of war would have been. It will be phenomenally less expensive than a land invasion of Kosovo and a protected conflict would have been.

So I want to say what I said again is, the most expensive peaceful reconstruction is still cheaper than the cheapest war. This is a responsibility we should assume, and it will pay for itself many times over in future conflicts avoided, in future trading partners, in future cooperation.

Bombing of Chinese Embassy in Belgrade

Q. Mr. President, China last week bluntly rejected Under Secretary Pickering's explanation of the bombing of its Embassy in Belgrade. What is your reaction to that? Does it have any merit, their position, and have you given up—do you think you've lost any chance of reaching a WTO agreement with China before the end of this year?

President Clinton. Well, the answer to the second question is, no. I have not given up. The answer to the first question is, I think—as they have time to review the information we gave them, and reflect on it, I